

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 1,075 February 1, 1957 4d. (U.S. Air Express Edition: 16 cm.)

Govt. pressed by MPs on Kenya

GOVERNOR TO INVESTIGATE MELDON'S CHARGES IN PEACE NEWS

"WHY is it that it is only now possible to put questions following the revelations in Peace News?"

This was one of a barrage of questions on Kenya asked by MPs in the House of Commons last week following the publication in Peace News on January 11 of new evidence regarding conditions in detention camps.

Mr. Maclay, speaking for the Colonial Secretary, said that the allegations would be investigated by the Governor.

The first question arising out of the Peace News article by Mr. P. R. Meldon, a former Kenya civil servant, was asked by Mr. Leslie Hale, MP.

In reply to his request for a statement on the disturbance in the Manyani detention camp on January 12, Mr. Maclay said:

"Five hundred detainees in the compound of Manyani detention camp started a riot during an attempt by members of the prison staff to locate two suspected murderers in the compound.

"In order to restrain the rioters the detainees had to be confined to their huts and force had to be used. One detainee was admitted to hospital with a broken arm, two with minor leg injuries and seven suffering from bruises.

"An investigation into the incident was ordered by the Commissioner of Prisons who as a result was satisfied that no more force was used than was necessary in the circumstances."

DISTURBANCE NOT MENTIONED

Mr. Hale: "Will the right hon. Gentleman bear in mind that most of these investigations appear to be conducted by persons who have a direct interest in the matter and who themselves have a certain measure of responsibility?"

"Will he also bear in mind that a very serious disturbance in a prison camp in Kenya appears to have taken place at a time when his right hon. Friend was reporting to the House about events in Kenya, and yet, so far as I have been able to trace, no mention was made of it? Why has it been concealed up to now, and why is it that it is only now possible to put Questions following the revelations made in Peace News?"

Mr. Maclay: "I really cannot say, without consultation with my right hon. Friend, why certain things were or were not in a statement which he made some time ago. I understand that this is the first Question which has been asked on the matter, and it has been answered."

In reply to a later question by Mr. Hale the Colonial Secretary admitted that 30,826 male and female Africans were being detained without trial as at December 31, 1956.

GOVERNOR'S REPORT AWAITED

Seventeen camps, each holding between 100 and 800 detainees, were without Rehabilitation Officers, as also were six camps and prisons each holding from one to 51 detainees.

Mr. Fenner Brockway asked the Colonial Secretary if "he will now appoint a judicial commission to inquire into and report on the administration of detention camps and prisons in the colony," following the charges made by Mr. P. R. Meldon.

Replying, Mr. Maclay said that the allegations "came to his notice when published in the Press on January 11" (the date of Mr. Meldon's Peace News article), and that the Governor had been asked to investigate them.

Pressed by Mr. Brockway to agree to the setting up of the judicial commission, Mr. Maclay said that "it would be wrong to pre-judge any issue until we have the Governor's report."

Reports on a number of other Questions will appear next week.

London crowds see 'SCRAP ARMS' MARCH

Now is the time to do it—Dr. SOPER

FROM DEREK WALKER

HUNDREDS of people marched through the West End of London on Sunday in the first of a series of demonstrations calling for the disarmament of Britain.

Led by Dr. Donald Soper the procession marched from his church in Kingsway through Trafalgar Square and Piccadilly Circus, watched by large crowds.

When the marchers arrived in Charing Cross Road a crowd was already gathered around the stand where Sybil Morrison was speaking in support of the "disarmament now" policy and urging passers-by to stay to hear Dr. Soper.

Appealing for support for the campaign, Dr. Soper said the first condition for enthusiasm was to be out and doing something.

The second was to have clear objectives in mind.

He believed that now was the appointed time for unilateral disarmament. Since the Hungarian tragedy many people had come to

realise that no purpose was served by armaments, except to create fear and divisions.

It was the duty of pacifists at this time to make their witness with the utmost vigour, he went on. A far more concentrated attack on the churches was needed, in order to enlist the support of many people who, in his opinion, were ready to be re-converted to pacifism.

There was nothing so effective as the constant presentation of the pacifist case to individuals. "In this way our own faith would be strengthened."

The great need was for people who saw in the cause of peace a vocation—a moral and spiritual duty.

LIBERATION FROM VIOLENCE

Earlier, at the evening service in Kingsway Hall, Dr. Soper preached on "Christians and Imperialism," the second sermon in his current series. Two World Wars had knocked the bottom out of the idea that there was something sacrosanct about the British Empire, he said, but we were still faced with the more invidious forms of Imperialism.

The belief in "Power" was a corrupting influence in politics. "I wish that I could think that Nehru has not been corrupted by that power with which he thinks he can annexe Kashmir," added Dr. Soper. Imperialists who talked about ruling other people "for their own good" forgot that men learn the use of

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ATTEMPTED BOMBING

THE Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the year-long Negro bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, had a narrow escape on Sunday, January 27, when twelve sticks of dynamite were thrown on the porch of his home. The dynamite failed to explode, making another escape for the 28-year-old minister who survived a shotgun blast and a bomb last year.

As an expression of their adherence to non-violence, the Negro leaders early last year abandoned the practice of having armed guards at their homes.

Arrests in S. Africa boycott

TWO hundred and ten Africans were arrested on Jan. 29 in an effort to crush the bus boycott in Johannesburg, Alexandra township, Sophiatown, Pretoria, and Moroka district, involving between 45,000 and 100,000 Africans.

The boycotters are walking long distances, many as much as twenty miles each day.

This protest has been caused by an increase in bus fares for the Africans who are forced by the Government to live miles from their work in Johannesburg.

Some whites are reported to be giving lifts to Africans.

The Minister of Transport, Mr. Ben Schoeman, gave Mr. Strydom's South African Government's attitude to the boycott recently. "There will be no capitulation by the Government," he said. "This boycott will be broken."

Sixteen Africans were injured in a police baton charge on Jan. 29.

Despite Government intimidation, the boycott continues.

Dr. Summerskill urges aid for the Middle East

By GENE SHARP

EMPHASISING the need for a permanent solution for the problems of the Middle East, Dr. Edith Summerskill, MP, told Peace News on Tuesday evening, "I have always said and still maintain these countries can never have settled conditions until their economic problems are solved."

"For centuries they have been subjected to the attacks of small and great powers and the standard of living of the masses of the people is perhaps the lowest in the world," she continued in an exclusive interview at the House of Commons.

"Until the world recognises that it has a duty to these people to raise their living standards, the Middle East will always offer fertile ground to those whose only interest is that of power politics."

Dr. Summerskill, who recently returned to London from Egypt where she investigated casualties and damage caused in the recent war, spoke of "a world responsibility" and the need for creating "a world public opinion" to help relieve the suffering and assist reconstruction.

"What I want to see is a world conscience on this matter so these things will never occur again."

The Egyptians were making a great effort, she said, to care for the refugees (many of whom were temporarily housed in schools), and to build new homes.

In Port Said there was a "very good chief engineer," she said, and the construction of wooden houses had already begun where the shanty town section had been destroyed.

PN PHOTOS "AUTHENTIC"

She declared that the photos of damage and casualties in Port Said by Per Olow-Anderson which had appeared in Peace News were "authentic." "I recognised some of them," she said.

As to whether Port Said had been bombed or only bombarded with rockets and cannon, she said she placed little importance on "these technical questions."

"I didn't see any difference between what happened when people say they used rockets and cannon, and the bomb damage in my old constituency of Fulham. There is no difference when both kill people and bury them in ruins."

She felt that the loss of life was more important than the cost of the venture as reflected in the Army's request for a supplementary appropriation of £29,800,000 for the "Suez Emergency."

"I am afraid the money question is a minor factor. I attach more importance to the loss of human life. The money can be found. Human life cannot be replaced."

Asked whether she favoured the proposal made by Mr. Arthur Lewis on Tuesday for legislation to make it mandatory for the Government before commencing armed conflict with any country to discuss the political and economic issues involved in the House of Commons, she said, "I certainly feel that it ought to be examined."

PUBLIC OPINION STOPPED WAR

Dr. Summerskill said that "the most interesting and significant thing of this conflict is that public opinion expressed itself quickly and effectively."

"I am quite certain that it was the public opinion in this country that stopped the war."

She cited M. Pineau's listing of three reasons why the war was stopped:

1. Public opinion in Britain,
2. The UN reaction, and
3. The Russian statement on "volunteers."

and declared that she was convinced the first was by far the most important.

She had been highly impressed by the mass meeting against the war held in Trafalgar Square by the Labour Party. It was "unique."

"Never before have I spoken to such an international gathering," she said. There had been persons of "every colour of skin" in the audience. It had been "an unforgettable gathering" and "a real international protest."

I asked another question: "The Suez war has been criticised because it was not as 'humane' as the Government had claimed. Do you believe that in these times any war can be 'humane'?"

"No. I can never think of a humane war," Dr. Summerskill replied. "It seems to me a contradiction in terms. I think all wars are stupid and a waste of healthy life."

Will Sandys cut defence bill?

By EMRYS HUGHES, M.P.

THE overwhelming opinion at Westminster seems to be that the time has now come for a heavy cut in defence expenditure.

Mr. Harold Macmillan has told us over the wireless that no vested interest and no tradition must stand in the way and Mr. Duncan Sandys has been sent to the Ministry of Defence as the tough man who will ruthlessly do this whatever the Generals, the Admirals and the Air Marshals say.

Well, we shall see. Mr. Duncan Sandys may be a tough administrator. He certainly has been tough in pushing the Rent Bill through the Committee Stage in the House of Commons. But being tough with the Local Authorities and determined to increase rents is one thing, and being tough with the Service Chiefs and the arms and aircraft vested interests is quite another.

I rather think that Mr. Duncan Sandys will not be quite as popular with back bench Tories when he begins wielding his new axe.

The very appointments that the new Prime Minister has made make one wonder how much he is in earnest.

New broom at War Office

Mr. Julian Amery has gone to the War Office; he was one of the leaders of the Suez Group who were so enthusiastic about going into Suez and so disappointed and angry when the Government agreed to a "cease-fire." He thought we should not have stopped but gone right on.

This from the financial and economic point of view alone would have meant, as The Economist warned us, the devaluation of the Pound.

Any cut in defence expenditure must halt or end our spending big sums in Cyprus, and bring about the reversal of our whole policy in the Middle East, which was meant, as the unfortunate Sir Anthony Eden used to tell us, to guarantee the supplies of oil.

Cyprus is now a complete waste of money. The base is now obsolete and useless, and any intelligent Government would seize this opportunity to cut out losses completely and bring our soldiers home.

Is Mr. Amery going to help to do that at the War Office? He has always stood for the strong arm policy in the Middle East.

Is he really going to change his spots so completely? He voted against Churchill's decision to abandon the Suez base. Is he now going to explain at the dispatch box why Cyprus must be abandoned too.

And will there then be a Tory back-bench revolt against Mr. Amery?

For if Mr. Sandys really means business he will have to tell the Service Chiefs that they have to stop spending money in Cyprus. Per-

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PUBLIC MEETING

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TREASON TRIALS

FATHER HUDDLESTON, C.R., GERALD GARDINER, Q.C., JOSEPH GRIMOND, M.P., FENNER BROCKWAY, M.P., JAMES CALLAGHAN, M.P.

Chairman: CANON L. JOHN COLLINS

CENTRAL HALL, Westminster, Monday, Feb. 4 at 7.30 p.m.

(Doors open 6.30 p.m. Buffet available)
Tickets 2s. 6d. res., 1s. unres., from Secy., Christian Action, 2 Amen Court, E.C.4 (CIT 6869), or Secy., Movement for Colonial Freedom, 374 Gray's Inn Rd., W.C.1 (TER 1078). Meeting in aid of Christian Action Special Fund for S. Africa, and arranged by Christian Action with the support of the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

NEW PACIFIST SOCIALIST PARTY IN HOLLAND

From our Special Correspondent

AMSTERDAM, January 28.

A NEW Dutch political party, the Pacifist Socialist Party was established here this week-end.

According to the draft programme the new party rejects force as a means to solve disputes.

It further refuses to accept military preparedness "as a factor to obtain the right relations between the nations."

Mr. H. J. van Steenis was appointed Chairman of the Party Board.

A news agency report states that other members of the Board are:

Mr. D. van Bentveld, Vice-Chairman; Mr. H. J. Lankhorst, Secretary; Mr. J. N. Daalser, Treasurer; and Messrs. J. Schut, J. W. E. Riemens, J. Ockers, F. van der Spek, S. Polak, W. der Jonk, Mrs. Selier-Slooser and Miss Snetlage, members.

Mr. J. W. E. Riemens, of Mauritsstraat 3, Amsterdam, is a leading member of the Dutch Third Way movement, with which Queen Juliana's name has been frequently linked.

February 1st 1957

Editorial and Publishing office.
3 Blackstock Road,
London N.4
Tel.: STamford Hill 2262

PEACE NEWS

Distribution office for U.S.A.
130 Brattle St.
Cambridge 38 Mass.

CYPRUS: THE REAL ISSUE

"NO Cyprus, no certain facilities to protect our supply of oil. No oil, unemployment and hunger in Britain; it is as simple as that." Thus Sir Anthony Eden.

The climax of Sir Anthony's political life was the use of Cyprus for measures aimed at protecting Britain's oil supplies. His degree of "success" in using these "certain facilities" we now know; we have still to learn the extent and seriousness of the future oil shortage which follows.

The other argument for keeping British control in Cyprus is that it is necessary to fulfil Britain's international commitments. Sir Anthony Eden has also said:

"Neither the NATO obligations nor the tri-partite declaration of 1950, nor the Baghdad pact, nor any agreement in the Middle Eastern area on the Persian Gulf, nor anything else—none of these can be speedily and effectively carried out... unless we have the assured, the unfettered use of bases... and facilities in Cyprus."

The value and desirability of these commitments in the Middle East are today seriously under review, and in the reconsideration of the part that Britain should now seek to play in world affairs the question of Cyprus becomes crucial.

The men—Britons and Cypriots—being killed day by day in Cyprus are part of the sacrifice being made in the last stage of the rearguard action of that imperialist power upon which "the sun never sets."

For nearly three quarters of a century Britain was able to assert its military power in the Middle East through its imperialist domination over the people of Egypt and, later, over the Canal zone. Retreating before the rising aspirations to national independence, British military authorities have sought to substitute Cyprus (as an island with a small population that could easily be dominated) for the abandoned control over Egypt and the Suez Canal.

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WHEN it is claimed that Britain must have Cyprus in place of Suez to fulfil her "commitments" we should ask "Why?"

There is no more essential reason why an island off the coast of Western Europe should have a point of military control in the East Mediterranean than should a small West European country—say, Holland—have it. The "commitments" arise only from the British Government's will to assert itself as a military power.

The events at the end of 1956 have demonstrated that the British Government cannot assert that power without courting disaster.

If and when World War III comes, it will result from some such aggression, also undertaken, of course, in a similar spirit of righteous indignation.

If we have learned the lesson that the assertion of power means disaster, the question of Cyprus is seen in a quite different perspective. We are no longer faced merely with such questions as the extent to which we should go beyond Lord Radcliffe's proposals and how we should bring back Archbishop Makarios into negotiations.

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THE question is now whether on any terms at all Britain should seek to proceed with the subversion of the whole economy of Cyprus to military purposes, as she has hitherto intended.

What Britain has been seeking is not merely a military base but the control and use of the whole island and its facilities for Britain's military ends, that Cyprus should be the base and headquarters for all her air and land forces in the Middle East involving an expenditure over a ten-year period of from £30,000,000 to £40,000,000 on military and air force constructions—£70 per head of the whole population of Cyprus—and an estimated normal staffing of 9,000 British troops and their families.

In an "underdeveloped" area in which 55 per cent of the population is dependent for an inadequate livelihood upon agriculture, these developments are likely to have highly undesirable effects upon the economic evolution of the area—even assuming the possibility of their permanence or stability.

Any Cypriot capable of looking realistically at the future, however, must know that the carrying out of this plan means inevitable disaster of one kind or another for his people.

If the world continues on its present path to war, his island will be one of the first obliterated. If there is a turning away from the present madness and a general agreement to disarm, the artificial military economy developed in Cyprus will collapse.

Britain is at the end of an era, but its people could be at the beginning of a new era of service to human development if they were ready to seize the opportunity.

Britain could help enhance the authority of the UN and take a lead in the kind of statesmanship for which the world is waiting, if she would today renounce her intention to impose her military domination on the Island of Cyprus and ask the United Nations to provide the machinery that could take charge of the negotiations necessary to fulfil the desires of the Cypriot people.

NIGERIA TODAY By John Ferguson

NIGERIA is the key to the future of the world. This may sound an exaggerated statement. But Europe and America have betrayed their calling, and the focal points of world history are shifting to Asia and Africa.

The East and South of Africa, from Cairo to Cape Town, is an area of tragic conflict, with the most hopeful sign the development which is taking place in Tanganyika under the wise governance of Sir Edward Twining.

French, Belgian and Portuguese territories, which often show a benevolent paternalism, have not encouraged any aspirations to political independence.

So British West Africa holds the steering-wheel, and of its territories Nigeria, four times the size of the United Kingdom, is the greatest and most important.

But Nigeria has its problems. It is divided into three regions, which correspond roughly with three predominant tribal and language groups.

PROGRESS

In the north are the Moslem Hausa and the nomad Fulani with their strange humped cattle. Government is by indirect rule, and the Emirs retain much of their traditional power. The problems of the north are separate from those of the rest of Nigeria, and the northerners are suspicious of any attempts to govern them from the south.

In the east are the Ibo, and in the west the Yoruba.

The writer, a former chairman of the British Fellowship of Reconciliation, is Professor of Classics at University College, Ibadan.

Conditions in these two regions are not dissimilar, but tribal rivalry between Yoruba and Ibo, and the personal clash between Dr. Azikiwe in the east and the Chief Awolowo in the west, makes the prospect of a united independent Nigeria remote.

Progress towards self-government has, however, been rapid and real.

At present there is a Federal Government, headed by the British Governor General. The elected Council of Ministers form the effective Government, and there is also a House of Representatives.

Each of the regions has its own Governor, Premier, Executive Council, and House of Assembly. In addition the Trust Territory of the Southern Cameroons has its own legislature.

There was to have been a constitutional conference in 1956; this has been postponed till mid-1957, but thereafter those regions which desire full self-government will be able to attain it.

Many people feel that this is a second best for national unity. But the status of the leaders in east and west is secure, and is not likely to be shaken by allegations of corruption, even if these are proved.

Even a limited stay in the country enables one to discern some of the needs. National unity is among the greatest of these, and with it a sense of international responsibility.



THE behaviour of the Indian and Pakistani Governments over Kashmir has been an example of how not to establish justice.

There is good evidence that armed bands from Pakistan originally invaded Kashmir in 1947 after the Hindu ruler had decided that predominantly Muslim Kashmir should become a part of India rather than Pakistan.

India did not use non-violent resistance.

India reacted to this "invasion" by sending her own troops to "defend" Kashmir and to ensure that it did not become part of Pakistan because of force of arms.

Both the Indo-Pakistan relationship and the world situation might be quite different if, in this conflict, either country had placed its faith in the non-violence of Gandhi.

Both India and Pakistan supported governments in the sections of the state which their troops occupied—a policy not unknown elsewhere in recent years.

For five years Sheikh Abdullah was Prime Minister of the part of Kashmir occupied by India. He had favoured integration with India.

He was deposed by India, however, when he began to express the idea that perhaps the solution for Kashmir was not to join either Pakistan or India in complete integration, but to retain a considerable amount of autonomy. In August, 1953, he was imprisoned—he maintains lawlessly and without any chance to answer charges against him—and a definitely pro-Indian Government was set up in the Indian-occupied part of Kashmir.

The former Prime Minister is still "detained" in Kud subail.

Plebiscite

INDIA and Pakistan have for years made charges against each other over Kashmir. But even if all the charges made by either party are true, it is no reason for the other to act as it has.

Whatever Pakistan may have done, there is no excuse for India permanently integrating Kashmir without a plebiscite. The refusal of a plebiscite gives the impression that India is by no means confident of victory.

We suggest that the United Nations press for a UN-supervised plebiscite with three alternatives: union with Pakistan, union with India, or autonomy (with the possibility of a later agreement for free association with either India or Pakistan).

Pakistan and India are at present both behaving like little Power States who would like to be big Power States. Krishna Menon's recent performance at the United Nations has done nothing to help promote a just solution.

Considering the non-violent struggles of their people for freedom from British rule, and the heritage of Gandhi and Muslim votaries of non-violence, such as Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the world has a right to expect something better of India and Pakistan in Kashmir than an Eastern imitation of Western tragedies.

W. German issues

IN Germany, a man called up for conscript service can only register as a conscientious objector after he has taken his medical exam, so that the total number of COs in the first batch recently called up, in addition to the estimate of those who refused to attend for examination, will not be known for some weeks.

But Herr Ollenhauer, the leader of the Social Democrats, has stated that the conscription law will definitely be repealed if his party is returned to power at the general elections in September.

Another issue which might have had an important bearing on the elections was decided when the Constitutional Court at Karlsruhe upheld

Kashmir Germany Australia

the legality of the provision in the electoral law designed to exclude splinter parties from the Bundestag.

No party can be allocated any seats from the "reserve list" which has not won three seats by direct vote or polled at least 5 per cent of all votes cast in the Federal Republic.

It is unlikely that there will be more than three or four parties in the new Bundestag compared with the six at present.

The German Party and the Free People's Party have already formed an electoral alliance, although the only point they hold in common is a belief in Dr. Adenauer's foreign policy. One result is another setback for liberalism in Germany.

Reunification or confederation

THE Bundestag Committee for all-German affairs has recommended that Berlin should be proclaimed the capital of Germany, that any further official building in Bonn be halted, and that the Parliament Building and federal offices be rebuilt in Berlin. The move is little more than a piece of political kite flying to advertise the desire for reunification.

Important agreements were reached as the result of recent negotiations between the Governments of the Soviet Union and of the East German Democratic Republic.

The main emphasis in the document is laid on the need for West Germany to abandon its remilitarisation, which is regarded as the greatest stumbling block to reunification and nothing is said about free and secret elections.

Walter Ulbricht, Deputy Prime Minister of East Germany, has publicly suggested that a solution to the problem of reunification might be found on the basis of some form of

confederacy between East and West Germany. Although this suggestion has been mentioned in Peace News, it is the first time that a leading German politician has put it forward.

The adjourned talks on meeting the cost of maintaining British troops in Germany have been resumed at Bonn.

Britain bases its claim that the Bonn Government should meet all the costs on the ground that occupation is over and British troops are now assisting in the defence of Federal Germany.

Nomads

IF one consults the official figures relating to Australian population, one will find that these are normally given exclusive of full-blooded aborigines.

It is only in subordinate tables, as for instance one which analyses the total population into races and religions that one finds that there are 46,600 aborigines, although as this is the 1947 figure and the race is rapidly declining the total is probably smaller today.

The number of full-blooded aborigines, that one finds that there are estimated in 1954 to be 13,490. The other population of this territory (those who rank for inclusion as population without qualification) is 16,489.

The aborigines lead a nomadic life and in the Northern Territory 47 million acres are reserved to their use. It will be seen therefore that they are not cramped, but there is no problem in allocating this expanse to them as outside these reserves there is an area of more than 107 million acres that is unoccupied.

Hunger

A WEST Australian Parliamentary Committee has recently reported on the conditions under which the aborigines live in the area that is administered by the West Australian Parliament.

The Chairman of the Committee, Mr. W. Grayden, says that among these people are those dying of hunger and that there are also those who are going blind through lack of medical attention.

Some aborigine mothers, he claims, kill their younger children in order to save the older ones from starvation.

The Minister for Police is also in charge of Native Welfare, which is the immediate responsibility of a Commissioner, Mr. S. G. Middleton.

The Commissioner claims that the Report of the Committee is greatly exaggerated, and remarks that the seasonal food shortages suffered by the aborigines are not worse than those suffered by nomads elsewhere; he presumably means by this the Arabian territories.

He condemns the Report as "political." Mr. Grayden claims however that the conditions are really worse than the Report shows, and says that there are 15 reels of film from which the Committee's statements can be verified.

From the Editor's Notebook

No questions asked

SUEZ, Hungary, Kenya. The space devoted to these subjects has crowded out many items deserving a mention in Peace News. Not least a stall in Cambridge market organised by the local Peace Pledge Union group to raise funds for this paper.

"It is an easy way of raising money," Dr. David tells me.

"We reserved a stall well before hand, collected the jumble—old clothes are by far the best—and then advertised the stall in the local paper a day or two before."

"All one need say is 'Jumble Stall, Market Square, 9 a.m.' No-one asks 'what's it for.' They are far too interested in the bargains."

Without embarrassment

ABOUT 10 people were waiting when the stall opened. Apparently stallholders need to keep a sharp look out for over-enthusiastic bargain hunters who will quickly empty the stall.

"You'll have that, madam?" will usually extract the money without embarrassment, Dr. David tells me.

Price tags on the goods are a waste of time but it is important to have one or two sales assistants with a realistic sense of values.

"We adjust the prices according to the customers. With a little experience it is easy to distinguish between the bargain hunter with a well-stuffed purse and the needy one who wants clothes."

On this particular occasion the group dropped propaganda (they are enthusiasts in this field too) and concentrated on sales. The best goods

usually go within the hour and the customers can be left to name the price. "What's it worth to you madam?" It was worth £10 to Peace News in Cambridge.

Jewish Peace Fellowship

"WE welcome into our fellowship persons of any religion or race sympathetic with our purposes," declare the Jewish Peace Fellowship on the front cover of their quarterly "Tidings" (from 132 Morningside Drive, New York 27, NY).

I learn from "Tidings," that, in an effort to aid the Ihud group working in Israel for Arab Jewish reconciliation, it is proposed that a group called "American Friends of Ihud" be established in the US. Those interested are asked to contact Joseph Ben-David, 55 Manhattan Avenue, Brooklyn 6, NY.

Another, please, MGM

THE British Quaker journal, The Friend, devoted its commentary last week to the MGM film "Friendly Persuasion": "a remarkably sympathetic, not unamused, and very penetrating, picture of our beloved Quakerism."

"Many a conscientious objector," says The Friend, "must have relived (in the loneliness of Gary Cooper chopping wood while his neighbours, and his own son, lie with pointed rifles at the creek ford) the sense of utter self-accusing isolation which the holding of our Peace Testimony imposes in time of war."

Another film like this, please, MGM.

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Will Japan urge world disarmament?

Japan was admitted to the United Nations on December 18, 1956.

Four days earlier the following letter, signed by seven leading Japanese citizens was handed to Mr. Kitamura, one of the delegates leaving for UN.

The letter was prepared by Raymond Wilson, Fred Ayusawa and Paul Sekiya of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. It has been published in the principal papers in Tokyo, in both Japanese and English.

TO THE JAPANESE DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS:

WHEN the question of Japanese admission to the United Nations comes up for consideration we would appeal to you to express to the full Japan's moral position as the first nation with a specific peace constitution renouncing the right to engage in war and rearmament. Japan could invite the United Nations to recognise this unique position.

Japan should appeal to the nations that she wishes to preserve this constitution and ask that they take steps promptly to begin to bring their policies in line with the ideal of attaining peace and security without arms and by renouncing the rights of belligerency.

Japan might thus become the outspoken champion of the necessity of world disarmament with the advantage that she is the first country to have a constitutional basis for such a programme.

As envisaged in the Atlantic Charter the world must come eventually to the renunciation of the use of force in international relations. Vigorous moral leadership on the part of Japan in that direction might make a very significant contribution to world peace.

Not only Japan, but all nations, need to devote their resources to peaceful development and the alleviation of hunger, disease and poverty.

We appeal to you to make Japan's admission to the United Nations the stepping stone away from reliance upon force and armaments toward a world of law, justice and disarmament.

Signed by the Members of Committee of Seven: TAMON MAEDA, Former Minister of Education; HIDEKI YUKAWA, Professor of Physics, Kyoto University, awarded Nobel Prize in Physics; MRS. TAMAKI UEMURA, President, YWCA of Japan; MISS TANO JODAI, President, Japan Women's University; MRS. RAICHO HIRATSUKA, Chairman, Federation of Women's Organisations; YASABURO SHIMONAKA, Chairman, Japan World Federalists; SEIJI KAYA, President, Science Council of Japan.

BRUTALITY TO C.O.

ENQUIRIES have been made by the War Resisters' International to the Israeli Consulate in London concerning a young Israeli conscientious objector who has been imprisoned and badly beaten.

Arlo Tatum, General Secretary of the WRI, wrote to the Consul-General, Mr. R. Amir, saying that "steps must be taken to prevent further physical abuse" and asking that the case be investigated. The Consulate has agreed to investigate the matter without delay.

The CO is Benjamin Gut of Haifa. Until recently he was serving as a parachutist with the Israeli Army. Due to his conscientious convictions, he decided that he could no longer serve.

He packed and returned his kit by post, sending a letter of explanation to the Israeli authorities.

Military policemen arrested him, and he was imprisoned.

On one occasion, when Benjamin was sick and unable to obey a command for him to get out of bed, the guards overturned the bed with him upon it. This caused damage to his eye, and he temporarily lost his sight.

He was sent to a military hospital until he was sufficiently recovered for him to be returned to jail. He still cannot see very well through the damaged eye.

He has been suffering from frequent attacks of nose-bleeding, and has shown symptoms of severe shock. His wife fears a nervous breakdown.

Representations have been made by Nathan Chofshi, Chairman of the Israeli branch of the War Resisters' International, and Mr. Weinstein, Benjamin's father-in-law, to the Israeli Army Attorney-General, asking him to look into the matter and avoid further brutalities.

New Anglican pacifist poster

THE Anglican Pacifist Fellowship beside contributing £200 towards the cost of the National Peace Council's stand at the National Schoolboy's Own Exhibition also produced a new poster, size 30 ins. x 20 ins. for display there. The poster, copies of which are available to members, reads:

The Church of England and War
If You Are
Worried
Write to the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship,
29 Gt. James Street, London, W.C.1.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER
This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.
Send YOUR pledge to
P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

The Peace Pledge Union appeal appears this week on page seven.

GERMANY: RESISTANCE TO CONSCRIPTION GROWS

ACCORDING to an official statement by the Minister of Defence in the Federal German Republic, about 10 per cent of the young men due to register for military service at the end of last year failed to do so.

The percentage was particularly high in the Ruhr district and the cities of Dortmund, Duesseldorf, Duisburg and Essen.

Of those who did register, 40 per cent asked for deferment and one in 500 claimed the right of conscientious objection.

The Minister said that the number of objectors was expected to rise later because applications have to be made within a fortnight of medical examination.

Call-up began on January 21, and the investigating committee are expected to start hearing the cases of conscientious objectors in March.

A CENTRAL BOARD has been formed at Bonn to co-ordinate the work of advisory bureaux for conscientious objectors. At the same time the Committee for the Protection of the rights of Conscientious Objectors set up by the Joint Committee of German Peace Organisations was dissolved.

The following organisations are represented on the Board:

The German Peace Society;
The War Resisters' International (German Section);
The International Fellowship of Reconciliation;
The War Resisters' Group;
The Socialist Students' Union;
The Youth Section of the Social Democratic Party;
And several other youth organisations, including a number of Evangelical youth groups

The Freiburg War Resisters' International Group, the Youth Section of the Social Democratic Party and the Freiburg Group of the German Peace Society have formed a joint Working Committee on conscientious objection.

The advisory bureau for conscientious objectors organised by the Freiburg WRI Group is now open daily instead of only once a week.

New WRI groups have been formed in Ahrensburg, Detmold, Menningen, Schramberg (Black Forest), Wiesbaden, Hanau, Kaufbeuren, Penzberg and Trotsberg (Bavaria).

The German Section of the WRI and the German Peace Society have formed a joint executive committee for Hannover and district.

Advisory Bureaux for Conscientious Objectors have been opened in Brunswick, Kiel, and Hannover.

The Hamburg WRI Group organised a conference in late 1956 on conscientious objection in which more than 100 delegates from youth organisations and trades union took part. The conference decided to ask the organisations which were represented to form a study group on conscientious objection for the purpose of co-ordinating the work of organisations in and around Hamburg whose policy it is to support and protect those of their members who wish to refuse military service.

At Bochum, Westphalia, only 51 of the 800 young men born in 1937 and due to register for military service, reported for registration. Five of these asked for deferment, and twenty failed to produce the necessary personal documents.

Demonstrations in Iraq

THE present unrest in Iraq gives evidence of the beginning of a democratic revolution of the people claiming their political rights, says the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

Under the present regime all opposition parties have been suppressed so that no constitutional opposition can be made.

Among the national figures arrested are: Kamel Chadirchi, a well-known political figure; Hussein Jamil, President of the Iraqi Bar; Siddiq Shanshal, a well-known political figure; Faayig Samarra, a well-known political figure; Sami Bashalim, a Member of Parliament; Jaafar Al-Shibbi, President of the Baghdad Chamber of Commerce; Hassan Dujaili, a well-known educator; Khalid Hashimi, Dean of the Higher Teachers' College; Abdul Rahman Dhahir, a well-known political figure; Abdul Rahman Bazzaz, a well-known political figure; Azziz Duri, Dr. History (Oxford), who was last year visiting lecturer at the London School of Oriental Studies.

The disturbances in November and early December brought about two demands: first, that the Government resign, and second, that Iraq withdraw from the Baghdad Pact.

In recent weeks there have been further demonstrations throughout the country and in Baghdad and Hai. As a result of the Hai riots ten people have been sentenced to 15 years imprisonment and two, Ali Shaikh and Ata Gahawchi, have been sentenced to death.

To save the people to be hanged, an appeal was issued on January 9 signed by Aziz Shareef, Dr. Jabir Umar, Dr. Saffa Ali-Hafudh.

It is also reported that scores of religious persons were arrested after preaching against the Government in Friday services in the mosques.

The Movement for Colonial Freedom hopes that the British Government will use its influence to encourage the recognition of civil and political liberties in Iraq.

At Herne, where 204 were due for registration, only 102 responded. At Ansbach only one man registered during the first three days.

In Dortmund fifteen municipal civil servants and employees refused work in connection with the registration of conscripts. "Our conscience is troubled about this registration work," they explained. "We would not like to conscript our own children for the army."

The head of the municipal administration stated, "I do not wish to force these people if they have genuine conscientious scruples."

There were angry scenes in the little town of Alpirsbach in Southern Germany when representatives of the Ministry of Defence tried to show a recruiting film in front of the local war memorial. The attitude of the population was so menacing that they had to pack up their gear and leave in a hurry.

At the neighbouring town of Lossburg the same group set up a screen near the fire station, but was prevented from showing the film by some youths who brought out the fire hose and draped it round the screen and the loudspeaker van.

New WRI Groups have also been formed in Bamberg, Loerrach, Luedenscheid, Mainz, Solingen, Stade and Wuppertal.

The German Section of the WRI has launched a new monthly publication under the title Dokumentation zur Kriegsdienstverweigerung (Documents concerning conscientious objection), edited by Ruediger Frank. The subscription is DM.-25 per month and orders may be sent to Die Friedensrundschau, Hamburg 13, Bornstr. 6/11, Germany.

Fourteen groups of War Resisters in North-Rhine-Westphalia have formed a joint district committee in Essen.

At Achem "Prisoners for Peace Day" was observed at a meeting at which a local minister gave an address on "The Christian Attitude to Conscientious Objection" and many city councillors and leading members of the Christian Democratic Party were present.

A public opinion poll was taken last November to ascertain a possible change of opinion due to the events in Egypt and Hungary. The question was "Are you on principle for or against the formation of a new Federal Army?" The same question put towards the end of 1955 resulted in 49 per cent for and 45 per cent against. This time the answers were 46 per cent for and 46 per cent against.

Passports refused

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY, MP, has received a cablegram from Kumba, in the British Cameroons, complaining that Mr. Moumie and Mr. Ntumazah, who were proceeding to New York to present a petition to the Fourth Committee of the United Nations, have been refused passports at Lagos, Nigeria.

The UN Committee had granted a hearing of the petition.

Mr. Moumie and Mr. Ntumazah have been refused passports on the grounds that they are not British protected persons nor British subjects, it is stated.

In fact, Mr. Ntumazah is a British subject, born at Makon, Bomenda Province in the British Cameroons, and Mr. Moumie crossed from the French Cameroons in 1955, taking political asylum in the British Cameroons, and has since been allowed to remain as a resident.

Mr. Brockway has written to the Colonial Secretary saying that in view of the fact that the people of a trusteeship territory have the right to petition the United Nations and to send deputations to its appropriate committee, he hoped that Mr. Lennox-Boyd will be able to send instructions to Lagos that the necessary passports should be provided as soon as possible.

A Colonial Office spokesman told Peace News that the Colonial Office disclaimed all responsibility and maintained that it is a matter for the Federal Government of Nigeria.

At the London office of the High Commissioner for Nigeria, a spokesman confirmed that the issuing of passports was the responsibility of the Nigerian Government, and told Peace News that he had "no statement to make on these two cases."

It is understood that whilst theoretically passports for Nigerian citizens are issued by Nigerian authorities, British officials are instrumental in making the decisions.

PACIFIST IN BY-ELECTION

THE National Executive of the Fellowship Party has decided to contest the forthcoming by-election in North Lewisham.

In preparation for a General Election, it has appointed an Election Committee comprising John Loverseed, AFC (National Agent), Derek Walker, BSc (Econ), Jack Roper, Ronald Mallone, BA, Mary McKenzie, BSc, and Alistair McKenzie.

Candidature in North Lewisham will depend on adequate support coming from the public. Offers of help should be sent to the General Secretary, The Fellowship Party, Woolacombe House, 141 Woolacombe Road, Blackheath, S.E.3.

February 1, 1957—PEACE NEWS—3

A SECOND LOOK AT CAPRICORN

Human rights

In this last instalment of an examination of the Capricorn Society, Kirilo Japhet, a Tanganyikan African leader, comments on Western Civilisation and human values. Previous installments have shown how Capricorn's proposals would bar most Africans from democratic rights and perpetuate white domination under the guise of "equality," and how Capricorn's land proposals would operate to the advantage of the Whites and the disadvantage of the Africans.

OUR criticism of Capricorn springs inevitably from our own position. Tanganyika African National Union is a popular political movement. Its constitution, in full, and its books as well, are open to the public.

It is democratically controlled by the activities of the local branches and the individual members. Its goal is to represent and to be responsible to the needs and hopes of the 98 per cent of the population who find no other party willing to consult their opinions or genuinely promote their interests.

In the two years of our organised existence, more than 220,000 people have enrolled in our membership and paid their fees, despite our proscription by Government for all African civil servants, such as teachers. The Capricorn people are not proscribed for their "non-political" activities.

We agree heartily with Capricorn that we are "determined not to risk lowering civilized standards." However, it is transparently obvious that the CONTRACT lavishes most of its attention on ensuring such standards as are native to the European community.

In spite of a few of our Europeanised Africans, many Africans are not convinced of the self-advertised "superiority" of Western standards.

WESTERN CIVILIZATION

Their sheer materialism, in spite of their claims to the Christian philosophy, and their anarchic individualism often seem to produce the most frustrated masses of individuals and the most savagely destructive nation-states.

The culmination of centuries of "progress" in these civilized countries seems to be their proud ability to annihilate God's entire world according to their uncontrollable self-interests and paranoid fears.

If "Western civilization" does not succeed in giving us more godly character, orderly and lawful human relations, and joyful living than most of the European nations have, there is no good reason for us to rush to desert our African traditions.

All we peoples of Africa ask are the same Universal Human Rights other men recognise and cherish. No one can presume to "give" them to us when they decide we "have earned the right." These rights are not made or conferred by men. God has already given them to us as He has to all His children.

UNACCEPTABLE

We do not think we are insisting on any more than we are entitled to receive. The signs of the times proclaim to all who can see and understand, that the African people will not follow leaders who claim for them less than full human rights.

We do admire the Capricorn people for one thing—their frankness. They say they consider the Central Africa Federation to have failed in its glowing promises of "inter-racial partnership" because it has tended to subordinate human values to political and economic interests.

They admit they were deluded into issuing the Capricorn Declarations of 1952 which identified the Capricorn movement actively in putting over the Federation scheme.

Now they say they have changed their minds and are absolutely sure once more as to the purity of their aims, and humbly ask forgiveness in their Handbook of the many Africans who "suspected that the Society's Policy of human relations was only a clever cover-plan."

If their newest proposals were any different, it wouldn't look so bad. However, they are even more unacceptable than ever to most of our African people.

In the Capricorn CONTRACT we see the same "non-political" idealistic drapery trying to conceal specific political legislation which has no chance of popular acceptance because it is incompatible with universal standards of civilized nationhood and human dignity.

No Socialist is complete without

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222 Strand, London W.C.2.

The search for truth

By HORACE ALEXANDER

INDIA is the land of religion. It has given birth to Buddhism, Hinduism in its several forms, and Sikhism. Even today in divided India there are thirty or forty million Muslims, and there are millions of Christians.

The Parsis also constitute an important element in Indian life.

So the question of tolerance versus intolerance is of the utmost importance for every Indian.

Gandhi grew up to be tolerant. He tells us in his autobiography that his parents went to three different kinds of Hindu temples, that his father was visited by Jain monks, and counted Parsis and Mussulmans (Muslims) among his friends.

But Gandhi was intolerant of Christians, because, as a schoolboy, he heard a missionary at a street corner pouring abuse on Hindus and their Gods. Also he heard of a Hindu who became converted to Christianity and who thereupon had to eat beef and drink wine and wear European clothes.

STROVE FOR UNITY

A poor sort of religion, thought the young Gandhi.

However, whilst he was in London studying law, he met an Englishman who was both a devout Christian and a vegetarian and non-drinker, who asked him to read the Bible.

When he came to the New Testament, and especially the Sermon on the Mount, it went straight to his heart, and from then on he became increasingly friendly to the Christianity of the New Testament and to individual Christians, such as C. F. Andrews.

When Gandhi became a leader in the Indian independence movement, one of the chief obstacles to its achievement was the strife between Hindus and Muslims, leading from time to time to fierce riots and bloodshed in a number of Indian cities.

His first prolonged fast, for three weeks, in 1923, was undertaken in an attempt to bring these two great communities together.

He continued to strive for Hindu-Muslim unity to the end of his life, and he was finally assassinated because he stood protector for the Muslim minority left in India after the partition of 1947.

But his desire to see the religions of the world agreeing together was far more than a political move for the unity of India. It sprang from his deepest convictions about the nature of religion.

HIS VIEW OF GOD

Let us see what he said on this from time to time.

"My Hindu instinct tells me that all religions are more or less true. All proceed from the same God, but all are imperfect because they have come down to us through imperfect human instrumentality."

"Religions are different roads converging to the same point. What does it matter that we take different roads, so long as we reach the same goal? In reality, there are as many religions as there are individuals."

"Even as a tree has a single trunk, but many branches and leaves, so there is one true and perfect religion, but it becomes many, as it passes through the human medium. The one Religion is beyond all speech. Imperfect men put it into such language as they can command, and their words are interpreted by other men equally imperfect..."

"Hence the necessity for tolerance, which does not mean indifference to one's own faith, but a more intelligent and purer love for it... True knowledge of religion breaks down the barriers between faith and faith."

What kind of being did Gandhi see as God? Let us take his own words again.

"I do dimly perceive that whilst everything around me is ever changing, ever dying, there is underlying all that change a living power that is changeless, that holds all together, that creates, dissolves and recreates. That informing power or spirit is God."

"And since nothing else I see merely through the senses can or will persist, He alone is."

Gandhi and Non-violence

a short list of recommended titles

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| TRUTH IS GOD, by M. K. Gandhi | 4s. (3d.) |
| SARVODAYA (the Welfare of all), by M. K. Gandhi | 5s. (4d.) |
| GANDHIAN TEACHINGS IN THE MODERN WORLD, Pyarelal | 2s. (3d.) |
| BASIC EDUCATION, by M. K. Gandhi | 3s. (3d.) |
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| RESISTING EVIL WITHOUT ARMS, by Horace Alexander | 6d. (2d.) |
| THE PRINCIPLES AND PHILOSOPHY OF BHOODAN YAGNA, by Vinoba Bhawe | 1s. (2d.) |
| GANDHI TO VINODA, by Lanzo del Vasio | 21s. (9d.) |
| PASSIVE RESISTANCE IN S. AFRICA, by Leo Kuper | 21s. (9d.) |

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3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4



Photo: courtesy of Principal Information Officer, Government of India.

Gandhi, from a painting by Sri Jamini Roy

And is this power benevolent or malevolent? I see it as purely benevolent.

"For I can see that in the midst of death, life persists, in the midst of untruth truth persists, in the midst of darkness light persists. Hence I gather that God is Life, Truth, Light. He is Love. He is the Supreme Good."

The above was written in 1926. Later in his life, Gandhi was inclined increasingly to identify God absolutely with truth, so that he spoke of God as Truth and Truth as God.

He seemed to get a special delight in pointing out that, under his definition, even the atheist was really a God-fearing man—at any rate the atheist who was concerned for truth. He also insisted that every conscious act of his life was part of his search for the truth that is God.

Perhaps one final quotation, again from 1926, will indicate the temper of his mind in his search after truth, and his dislike of slick answers to perplexing questions.

"I cannot account for the existence of evil by any rational method. To want to do so is to be co-equal with God. I am therefore humble enough to recognise evil as such. And I call God long-suffering and patient precisely because he permits evil in the world. I know that he has no evil. He is the author of it and yet untouched by it."

HALDANE RETIRING TO INDIA

By Christopher Farley

"THERE is a good chance to build socialism in India by non-violent and constitutional means. One of the reasons why I am going to India is that I see so little prospect of socialism in Britain," declared Professor J. B. S. Haldane last week.

Giving a final, and overflowing, public lecture in London University before he retires to India this summer to work for the statistical department of the Indian Government, the eminent scientist asserted: "The British Labour Party is not socialist."

Giving as an example the position of Herbert Morrison, who was a conscientious objector in World War I but "who sent conscripts out to kill in the second World War," he added: "I was a volunteer in 1914 and saw how our country's aims were betrayed, and therefore have great sympathy with CO's."

A brilliant scholar, the scope of whose knowledge and interests is of a pyrotechnic versatility, Professor Haldane retires with his political views still unresolved.

Although his association with the Daily Worker is long over, he continues to regard the bureaucratic collectivisation (which he admits) of the Soviet economy as socialism, and her satellites as socialist countries.

He hesitates, however, to speak of international relations and nations except in economic terms.

Moreover, his work for the Communist newspaper, which valued him as its prize intellectual, was mainly confined to pleas for more effective air raid precautions during the war, and to a popular presentation of scientific knowledge.

Professor Haldane's absorbing interest in India has clearly confronted him again with the challenge of non-violence. Indeed, he has contributed some of his thoughts on non-violence to the excellent new Indian theoretical monthly, Mankind.

One fears, however, that he may be too individualistic to make basic changes in his philosophy at this point in his life.

NEHRU'S STRUGGLE: A JOURNEY ALONE

Brijen Gupta reviews

Jawaharlal Nehru, by Frank Moraes. New York, Macmillan Company, \$6.75, London, 35s.

MORAES' book about Nehru is as intriguing as it is revealing. The purpose of the book has been to portray Nehru against the background of the Indian nationalist movement. In this assignment, the author fails both as a political historian and as a biographer, for though he does not intend to do so, yet the impression he gives is that the history of India during the last thirty years is the personal history of Nehru.

But I must hasten to add that the book is very much alive. Written as it is about one of the world's controversial figures, it succeeds in telling quite a bit about Nehru.

It helps us to understand why Nehru has considered himself, and been considered by his critics, "a torn being," a rootless man who feels neither at home in India, nor in the West, and who has believed that he "must journey alone, to rely on others is to invite heartbreak."

Moraes has succeeded well in pointing out that the split-personality of Nehru is largely due to his intellectual alienation from Gandhi but extreme emotional attachment to him and his righteousness.

It has been said that Nehru's world was destroyed in the late 1930's. Moraes does not take up the point, but his book provides circumstantial evidence to the fact: the failure of Gandhi to accept Nehru's ideas of socialism, the failure of Nehru to understand the whims of Gandhi with regard to the civil disobedience movements, the failure of the United Front in Europe, the death of Barcelona, the purges of Stalin, the gas chambers of Hitler, all shook Nehru to his innermost core.

"The future is dark," he said. "Evil triumphed often enough, but what was far worse was the coarsening and the distortion of what seemed so right."

The book also shows that Nehru has been much closer to the West than to Gandhi, more friendly to the ideas of the Western statesmen and the so-called great-power mentality than to the Gandhian ethics and ideals.

He is looking forward to the kind of Westernisation of Indian politics, society, and economy that Gandhi rejected.

The transition is best seen by Nehru's performances at the Asian Conference in New Delhi and the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung.

In 1947, with Gandhi alive to guide him, Nehru proclaimed the beginning of a new Asian morality and a federalist era in world politics. With Gandhi dead in 1955, Nehru reverted to the Western idea of nation-states and great-power fear.

It is too early to say whether Gandhi was wrong and Nehru has been right. There are millions in India who consider the achievements of Nehru unparalleled in world politics as well as in internal affairs.

Socialists and Communists everywhere, except in India, adore him and look upon him as a stabilising force in the world. The pacifists too have come to look upon him as a kind of a political messiah and believe that Nehru's approach to world politics is nearest to the pacifist ideals.

It is not for me to say how this has happened and why it has happened. Those interested must look into Moraes' book, which, incidentally, has valuable and interesting chapters on Kashmir and Indian economic development.

And Mr. Moraes deserves to be forgiven for two minor factual errors: once when he puts Greece as a member of the Middle East Defence System, and again when he says that the majority of the people living in Jammu are Hindus, not Moslems.

Gandhi's life and approach

GENE SHARP reviews

The Gandhi Reader. A Source Book of His Life and Writings, Edited by Homer A. Jack. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana, \$7.50.

DR. HOMER JACK has done a service by editing into one volume a wide selection of some of the best writings by and about the life of Gandhi and his approach. Wherever possible the editor has wisely allowed Gandhi to speak for himself. It is a good volume to read with a good biography of Gandhi.

In his Introduction, which contains considerable factual information, Homer Jack points out that "Gandhi's greatest contribution was in the field of methodology."

"With the help of Hindu and Christian scriptures and insights from Henry D. Thoreau and Count Leo Tolstoy, he devised a new method of warfare—one which large or small groups, or even whole nations, could use against the greatest manifestations of evil: racism, imperialism, and war."

Dr. Jack calls satyagraha "a truly epochal social invention."

"Gandhi said that satyagraha is meant for the common people, not merely for saints. It is war without violence. It is based on love, not on hate: on loving one's opponents and suffering to convert them."

"It differentiates between the sin and the sinner, between the evil and evil-doer. It is the weapon of the brave, not of the weak. It demands discipline and may entail self-sacrifice, suffering, fasting, imprisonment and death, yet it has the supreme virtue of providing means consonant with the highest ends."

The selections included in this volume are mostly by Gandhi himself. Other contributions include writings of C. F. Andrews, Joseph Doke, Rajendra Prasad, Mahadev Desai, Jawaharlal Nehru, Agatha Harrison, Pyarelal, Louis Fischer, Vinoba Bhawe and Mirabehn.

UNJUST LAWS

The Editor has included a glossary of Indian terms, and biographical notes of the principal persons mentioned in the volume. Most of the chapters include valuable introductions.

Many of Gandhi's thoughts are presented clearly because of the editor's selection. For example: the power of civil disobedience:

"If man will only realise that it is unmanly to obey laws that are unjust, no man's tyranny will enslave him. This is the key to self-rule or home-rule."

"It is a superstition and ungodly thing to believe that an act of a majority binds a minority. Many examples can be given in which acts of majorities will be found to have been wrong and those of minorities to have been right."

"All reforms owe their origin to the initiation of minorities in opposition to majorities... So long as the superstition that men should obey unjust laws exists, so long will their slavery exist."

Writing in 1946 about war and the atom bomb, Gandhi declared:

"Now we know the naked truth. War knows no law except that of might..."

"The moral to be legitimately drawn from the supreme tragedy of the bomb is that it will not be destroyed by counter-bombs even as violence cannot be by counter-violence. Hatred can be overcome only by love. Counter-hatred only increases the surface as well as the depth of hatred."

The editor has generally chosen the selections wisely. One would have hoped, however, that there would have been included a few selec-

tions on Gandhi's view of his role in free India to avoid the impression that he endorsed all the policies of the Indian Government.

He declared that the Congress Party was no longer the instrument for building the India of his dreams, that he opposed the large-scale industrial programme and war preparations of the Government, and that once the Hindu-Muslim riots were ended, he hoped to attack the land problem (probably in a more radical way than that undertaken by Bhawe).

It is a useful book and a valuable contribution to the spreading of important ideas.

Dr. Homer Jack



Briefly

SPEAKING at the Asian Socialist Conference, Jayaprakash Narayan said that what socialism needs is a "mass movement," which "obviously, will be non-political in the sense that its aim will not be the capture of the State, because the State will be irrelevant to its purpose, viz. the remaking of man."

He further pointed out that Socialism would be limited or denied if enforced by the State and defined a Socialist society "as one in which the individual is prepared voluntarily to subordinate his own interest to the larger interest of society." His address appeared in *Bhoodan*, November 14, 1956.

The arrival of 407 Canadian reinforcements for the UN Emergency Force in the Middle East on January 11 brought the total strength of UNEF in Egypt to more than 4,700 men. Arrangements have been completed to add a Brazilian contingent—an infantry battalion of reduced strength.

This makes the tenth national contingent and brings UNEF to its initial target size of two reduced strength combat brigades.

Prime Minister Nehru gave an assurance in Bombay on January 20 that "whatever might happen and whatever might be the circumstances" India would never use atomic energy for evil purposes. He was inaugurating India's first atomic reactor at Trombay, near Bombay. Work on the erection of a second reactor has started and a third is being planned.

The Reverend Frederick P. Nissen, pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, in Lawrence, Massachusetts, was granted citizenship and permitted to take a modified oath as a conscientious objector on November 26, 1956. Nissen had lived in the USA since 1927. He was denied citizenship in 1933, and again in 1952 because of his pacifism.

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Gandhi's last hours

By Dr. HOMER JACK

PYARELAL, Gandhi's Secretary at the time of his death, now has an office in the Municipal Corporation building on Parliament Street, New Delhi. The Corporation has generously given him space for some of the Gandhian archives. There is a sign above the entrance to his rooms: "Truth is God—Mahatma Gandhi."

Inside there are a series of neat cupboards in which are kept all kinds of written material related to Gandhi's last years. Pyarelal comes to this office every day and finished here the manuscript of **MAHATMA GANDHI: THE LAST PHASE**.

During one of my visits I asked Pyarelal if he might spare the time to take me to visit Birla House—the scene of Gandhi's last days and hours.

I met Pyarelal at his apartment next to the Madras Hotel in central New Delhi at 6 p.m.

Pyarelal now possesses a wife and a jeep. At first hearing, this may sound strange, that Gandhi's Secretary should have strayed so far from the Master by possessing a jeep—a complicated machine born of war—and also abandoning the celibate life of the ashram for marriage.

On second thought, though, Gandhi's death brought an inevitable end to the close circle around him. It is natural and a real sign of growth that Pyarelal (as Mirabehn and Vinoba) should possess a jeep and that he should get married—to a woman he met while doing communal work in Noakhali in East Bengal.

And so Pyarelal took his wife and myself in his jeep to Birla House.

BIRLA HOUSE

In the pink sunset we drove past the beautiful, circular Parliament building, past the twin secretariat buildings on the hill and in the distance the erstwhile Viceroy's house (and now housing President Rajendra Prasad).

We drove through some of the twisting streets in the residential part of New Delhi, with circles* at almost every block. Soon we came to Albemarle Road and turned right into Birla House, just opposite the mansion of the British High Commissioner and near the Yugoslav Embassy.

The yellow stucco house is still used by the Birla family, but the guards knew Pyarelal.

We walked inside this well-furnished mansion and down the corridors to the far front, to the rooms used by Gandhi. Here was the room where Gandhi stayed those last months in New Delhi. The deep blue rug was the same, as were the magenta drapes on the two windows. The plaster had been repainted and the bathroom had been changed over from "Indian" to "modern," but otherwise everything was the same, except in the corner where Gandhi kept a mattress on the floor.

Here is where he slept and worked and received callers. When it was chilly, a fire would be built in the fireplace.

PRAYER GROUND

Then Pyarelal showed us the adjoining sun-porch. Guests would wait here before their appointment with Gandhi. The door outside was the way Gandhi always went, either left to the prayer ground or right to a small summer house used both for a bath and for a retreat where Pyarelal could get some secretarial work accomplished.

Then Pyarelal reconstructed the fateful Friday, January 30, 1948. Gandhi awoke at 3.30 a.m. for prayers.

At 4.45 he had a drink and commented, "Who knows what is going to happen before nightfall or even whether I shall be alive?"

He had a massage in his room, and then a bath. He weighed 109.5 pounds. He took his morning meal at 9.30 a.m. He asked Pyarelal to get rid of all arrears in correspondence.

As a matter of fact, Gandhi worked late the previous evening on what was later called his last will and testament, a document on the future of the Indian National Congress. He asked Pyarelal to get it in shape as soon as possible and read the draft while soaking up the January sun in the garden.

Pyarelal himself left Birla House early in the afternoon to do some errands in New Delhi, since he was to leave shortly, again for Noakhali. He was to wind up his work there,

*Roundabouts.



Gandhi with Sarojini Naidu and members of his ashram on the Salt March to Dandi in 1930.

so he could return to Gandhi and accompany him on a contemplated trip to Pakistan.

At 1.30 p.m. Gandhi had an abdominal mud pack. At 4 p.m. he talked with Sardar Patel and spun some yarn. At 4.30 p.m. he had his evening meal, again prophetically saying he would see a caller after prayers, "if I am alive."

And with his "two walking sticks" at his side—his two grandnieces—he walked down the lane under the red sandstone trellis, saying "I am late by ten minutes. I hate being late. I like to be at the place of prayer exactly at the stroke of five."

When they reached the steps, by common consent all conversation—and joking—ceased. Gandhi walked into the prayer ground, to be assaulted almost immediately, crumpling to the ground with a prayer on his lips.

Pyarelal returned from his errands that afternoon late—just after five. He recognised Sardar Patel's automobile in the driveway. He hurried across the yard and down the passageway under the stone trellis. Half way he saw Shri Chandwani running and mumbling something about "telephone for a doctor, Gandhiji has been shot dead."

Pyarelal stood as in a nightmare. He tried to be logical and said, "Well, if Gandhi is dead, why get a doctor?" He returned to the house and a doctor was called.

In the meantime, someone rummaged around Sushilla's medicine chest. (She was Pyarelal's sister and Gandhi's physician, but was in Lahore that day doing communal work).

Adrenalin was found, but Pyarelal pleaded with them to spare the trouble, since Gandhi had charged his close associates not to administer prohibited drugs to him, even to save his life.

Soon Gandhi's lifeless body was brought into the room—into the very room where Pyarelal had seen him that morning and so often those previous months. Sardar Patel was at the prayer meeting and so he was there.

Soon the others arrived: Mountbatten, Nehru (who sobbed like a child), Kripalani, Devadas Gandhi, and even Pyarelal's mother who was shopping when she heard the news and got through the tremendous crowds with Devadas.

PROCESSION

The rest is history—how they sat in the room most of the night and made funeral plans, how the crowd demanded to see Gandhi's body, how they took it upstairs and displayed it from the roof, and how they had a great procession to the Rajghat the next day.

As Pyarelal was recounting these precious, if tragic, memories, we went around to look at the prayer grounds—a flat, grassy piece of ground about half the size of an American baseball field. At one end—nearest the trellis—is a simple sandstone monument, about five feet high, with a little stone railing on three sides.

Pyarelal raised his hand and said, "There he was when it happened." Silently we three walked toward it and saw the inscription in Hindi and the date.

Flowers were strewn on it by visitors—and many visitors make their way to this hallowed ground, now accessible by a special path from the street. Pyarelal pointed out the fence to one side where warning bombs were thrown by the fanatic Hindus a few days before.

In front of the fence was the sandstone building where Gandhi would sit during the prayer meetings. Now it houses some murals and Mr. Birla is turning it into some kind of a memorial to Gandhi.

Pyarelal said that some wanted to have the whole property turned over to the Government as a national memorial, but he felt that Gandhi wouldn't have accepted hospitality from his friends if he knew that such hospitality would mean that they would have to part with their property.

The Birlas had many precious memories connected with their New Delhi home and they ought to be able to continue to use it for as long as they want before it becomes a national shrine—which inevitably it will someday.

THE HOTEL

In the quiet of the sunset we left the prayer ground—Pyarelal, his wife, and myself. We rode back to the centre of New Delhi and I invited them to come up to my room in the Marina Hotel to see some books on Gandhi which I had just acquired.

They came up with me and we continued our talk. Soon it was time for them to go and I accompanied them down the two flights to the street.

At the base of the stairs, just before saying goodbye, Pyarelal turned to me and asked, "Did you know that the assassins of Bapu lived in this very hotel?"

I did not! Of all the hotels in New Delhi, I had to pick this one. And of all the rooms in the hotel, mine was only four numbers from theirs.

I found out afterwards that the desk clerk was a witness at the murder trial. He told me that room 40 is very peculiar—either it brings the occupants very good luck or very bad luck.

It was distinctly bad luck that the occupants of room 40 on January 29-30, 1948, brought to the world.



Photo: courtesy of Principal Information Officer, Government of India.

On March 27, 1943, Gandhi called at 3 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi and had an interview lasting over two hours with Sir Stafford Cripps. The Cripps' effort to obtain India's support for the war failed.

Gandhi's body on a gun-carriage

ON the morrow of Mahatma Gandhi's death, an act of vulgarity took place . . . which has no parallel in human history . . . India's body was branded by this vulgar act and she will continue to bear its ugly fruit until the people repent and beware.

Mahatma Gandhi's body was laid on a gun-carriage, a perversity second only to that of the apostle of non-violence falling to the bullet of an assassin . . .

Gandhi's assassination and the perversity of his dead body on a gun-carriage were climaxed by a cortege which in shameless vulgarity and contrariness has no equal in all climes and ages.

Europeans walk behind the dead bodies of those whom they revere, their feet shod and their heads bare. The people of India and, we believe, other coloured peoples of sunnier climes walk behind their revered dead, bare headed and bare foot.

All peoples revere all their dead, beggar or prince.

The chief mourners of this macabre procession had almost worshipped Mahatma Gandhi while he was alive and the question of their not revering his dead body could therefore not arise.

But they sat or stood on the gun-carriage as though to tell the wailing multitude that they were the dead man's successors . . .

That day . . . the present rulers of India . . . let the people know what they were in for.

They rode on the dead man's carriage. Such open and unashamed defilement of that which is great or good in life . . . is yet unatoned and continuously bears its wicked fruit.

No word of apology has come from the defilers nor have the people yet overthrown them.

That dark deed is yet unatoned. Defilement of the great and the good in life goes on.

—From an editorial in Mankind, Hyderabad.

"The very possession of arms presents us with a temptation not only to use them in times of stress but also to rely upon them always instead of accepting the duty of thinking out and pursuing statesmanlike policies," says a New Year Message which is being distributed in printed form by British Quakers in Newcastle.

Research in Norway on Non-violence

A PROGRAMME of research on non-violence is being undertaken at the University of Oslo by the Institute of Philosophy and History of Ideas. The Norwegian Scientific Research Council which finances most of the basic scientific research in Norway, agreed in 1956 to finance a three-year study of the political ethics of non-violence to be conducted at the Institute.

Professor Arne Naess, of the Institute of Philosophy, and Johan Galtung, a Research Scholar in the Institute of Sociology, have told Peace News that the research will be conducted along three lines.

The first line of research will be heavily methodological and philosophical. It will include a comparison of Gandhi's original writings with the doctrines presented as systematisations of his political ethics by students of Gandhian philosophy. (Gandhi never wrote a systematic presentation of his social and political philosophy and programme.)

This first line of research will include the general problem of how to use the systematisations of the thinking of Gandhi and other great men of the past in the search for adequate responses to contemporary political situations. This would include the question "Can we 'learn' from Gandhi?"

Non-violence in politics

The second line of research is an analysis of the arguments and counter-arguments in present literature on non-violence, especially that dealing with Gandhian views, concerning the ethical validity and practical applicability of non-violence in politics.

This analysis consists mainly in:

1. tracing the interrelations between
 - (a) premises and conclusions, and
 - (b) general views and their particular applications, and
- (2) an evaluation of the validity of particular statements in the literature on non-violence as well as the validity of inferences in the literature and the ideas contained in groups of related statements.

The third line consists of a systematic attempt to list the material already available in the social sciences and related sciences which is of relevance for the evaluation of non-violent doctrines.

This would include cross-cultural surveys of techniques of group conflict, general sociological theories as well as psychological theories concerning the nature of aggression and overt violence.

(A great part of this compilation is already being done by UNESCO but the relevance of

Non-violence the way to freedom—Azikiwe

DR. NI'AMDI AZIKIWE, Prime Minister of Eastern Nigeria, has cabled Peace News saying, "I am grateful for the opportunity to confirm my strong stand in favour of non-violence in territories striving for self-government."

"In my experience," he continued, "any other policy tends to operate unfavourably and delay the goal of self-determination."

the results for a consideration of non-violence is not sufficiently clear in their own results; further efforts are therefore deemed to be needed.)

The question of whether the three lines of research will converge in a general theory of non-violent doctrines and policies is left for the future.

Whether this develops depends on the working facilities and the degree to which the subject matter is found to be suitable as a research project.

Professor Arne Naess and Johan Galtung, who are working on the project are co-authors of **GANDHI'S POLITICAL ETHICS** which has been published in Norwegian.

They are eager to contact persons interested in the research project, especially those in possession of material they feel to be of relevance. They may be contacted at Universitetet 1, Løkkevunt, Oslo, Norway.

At the invitation of the Institute of Philosophy and the History of Ideas, Gene Sharp, of Peace News' staff, will spend a month at the University doing research on non-violence between February 15 and March 16.

He will also lecture before the University's Institute of Philosophy and the Institute of Sociology.

While in Norway he will address a public meeting for Folkereising mot Krig, the Norwegian section of the War Resisters' International.

Good news for P.N. readers!

GANDHI'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

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BOOKS

MEN AND POWER

Norman Wiseman reviews

Men and Power, 1917-1918, by Lord Beaverbrook. London, Hutchinson, 25s.

LORD BEAVERBROOK has written a fascinating, and at the same time frightening book. In a crisp style, occasionally lit up by a striking epigram, he has told the story of the political intrigues in the clubs and mansions and Westminster corridors of England during the years 1917 and 1918, when the young and middle-aged soldiers of Europe fought out the issues in the blood and mud of the battlefields.

He shows clearly how, when Germany's submarines were starving Britain to near-defeat, many statesmen saw the first objective of their intrigues as their own political survival; the survival of the nation seemed secondary.

It is so easy, in party or government, to identify one's own survival with the ultimate success of the party's policies or principles.

The most revealing chapter is that given to Lord Curzon. Beaverbrook writes that he was "a hard-working and devoted public servant, providing his own interests did not clash with the public concern. He was equipped with good understanding, a certain measure of native cunning, and an immense capacity for believing what suited his own interests . . . He was a ceaseless intriguer."

His intrigues led him, once, almost to the door of 10 Downing Street, but he never crossed the threshold, for Bonar Law was already installed.

Of the statesmen of this period, it is Lloyd George above all others whom Beaverbrook admires. He writes:

" . . . in the day of our dire need, when the blast of the terrible one was against the wall,

Italian Catholic pacifists

La Locusta, available from Edizioni de "La Locusta", via Santa Barbara, 25, Vicenza, Italy (in Italian).

WHILST peace continues to mount its Calvary ever more strenuously a number of Catholic youth have decided to talk of peace. It is youth who want to get out of the circle of vain talkings and learned discussions and work for peace there where you can freely breathe, work and live, viz., within the walls of the houses, at the factories, at the offices, at the open places, on trams, trains, etc.

Tired of rhetorics and polemics and still more tired of the voices which reinforce the old hates, they want to take up again with absolute intransigence and without any exception the Christian command: *Thou shalt not kill.*

If it is a question of facing death they want to face it with the spirit of peace, if to choose they want to choose love, and if to choose among people they prefer the poor, all those who have to lose by war and to gain everything by peace.

This community of youth has published a booklet of some 100 pages in which is given the most convincing, the most logical arguments in favour of peace and condemnation of war viewed from religious, scientific, moral and ethical points of view.

The most poignant excerpts from this booklet are the following:

"We refute the distinction between a just and an unjust war, a defensive and preventative war, a reactionary and a revolutionary war. Every war is fratricidal, outrageous to God and to man. We condemn all wars. We propose to accept only those means for negotiating peace which do not negate peace, be it in the relation of nations and races, or in the relation of classes and religions.

"We want to create a Christian resistance movement against war, refusing obedience to any orders whatever, to any laws which are in conflict with our conscience by preferring the commandments of God to those of men.

"If war is a sin nobody has the right to declare it, or the right to order men to kill their brothers."

Holidays 1957

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which records each advertisers' services.

a strange figure sprang into the arena to do battle.

"It was clad in a jewelled breast-plate set in a vesture of rags and tatters. It faltered in its walk, and yet leapt with a wonderful swiftness. The sword looked as fragile as a rapier, and yet smote with the impact of a battle-axe. As it was held on high, so was the hope of Britain . . . Then the final stroke and . . . an Empire as broad as the earth was bathed everywhere in the sunlight of victory. Liberty was secured."

It is true that the fight against German militarism had been won; but liberty? In Kenya? In Cyprus? Hungary? And as for Roosevelt's Freedom from Fear, an aim of World War II, where have we that?

From Bihar to Britain

Vedanta, 20 pp; Twenty Years in Britain, 28 pp, both by Swami Ayyakantananda, Published by The Vedanta Movement, Bathaston, Bath. Unpriced.

MANY pacifists will have met, at some time or another, the writer of these pamphlets; many more will have heard or read references to the Vedanta Movement in some discussion or article.

The first of them describes the origin and basic ideas of Vedanta: unity with mankind and the sub-human creatures and nature; tranquillity, inner freedom and universal love; and a personal and social relationship without possessiveness, oppression or exploitation.

The Vedantist can be a theist, atheist, agnostic or monist, according to his conviction; he cultivates a world outlook free from theological, metaphysical and mystical bias, and based on the idea of the oneness of life and existence.

In 1934 Swami Ayyakantananda was a preacher of this faith in Bihar, India, and he felt the call to come and spread his ideas in Britain. The second pamphlet is a short and well written account of his mission and work in this country.

NATIONAL TONGUE

Thoughts on National Language, by M. K. Gandhi, Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, Rupees 2. Housmans Bookshop, London.

MANY Western friends of India will have serious doubts about the wisdom of replacing English as the national language. Without wishing to destroy any of the indigenous Indian languages, it might well seem that if a second language that shall be common to the country is to be taught, the best choice would be that one which is the nearest thing to a universal tongue that we have yet known.

Hindi should be the official national language of India, and that is still the policy of the present Indian Government, although not so strongly held, perhaps, as it once was.

Gandhi's thoughts on the subject are here collected from a number of sources; they are set out at length, anyone who is very interested in the subject may be glad of this, but others would have appreciated an edited digest.

T.R.D.

Facts on Conscription

THERE are 21 countries which do not have conscription, according to a special issue of the War Resister published last week.

The special issue takes the form of a handbook and carries a 7-page analysis of military service and alternative service regulations in 79 countries.

Of 50 countries which have conscription, 15 have some form of provision for conscientious objectors.

There are seven countries about which no information can be obtained. One country, Guatemala, has conscription for its National Guard, while Army service is voluntary.

Also listed are all the organisations affiliated to the International; sections in the Gold Coast and Indonesia are recent additions.

The four quarterly issues of the War Resister are sent to all subscribers of a minimum of 5s. Subscriptions should be sent to the WRI at Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, England.

SUCCESSFUL BOOK

ACCORDING to the Publishers' Circular the sales of NAUGHT FOR YOUR COMFORT, by Father Trevor Huddleston now total more than 82,000 copies and a further reprint is in hand. A new book by the same author will be published later this year; its subject will be Christian friendship.

"It must have occurred to many" says this paper "to wonder what happens to the royalties in such a case where the author, by his vows, can possess no worldly goods. At Father Huddleston's request, the greater part of these royalties and the fees from his other writings and broadcasts is being devoted to the development of his Community's Mission School at Penhalonga in Southern Rhodesia. Father Huddleston has already contributed a considerable proportion of the £50,000 required."

During Eden's war on Suez there was a surfeit of militarism. "It's time Britain put her foot down," etc. Many of the Colonel Blimps, however, are now creeping back into their holes. Here's what some of our poets have had to say about warmongers.

Away with jingoism!

By FRANK ALLAUN, M.P.

We don't want to fight
But, by Jingo, if we do,
We've got the guns, we've got the men
And we've got the money too.

THIS music hall chorus, popular before the 1914 war, gave birth to the term jingoism. It expressed the flag-wagging cockiness of that period.

Every time I look across the floor of the House of Commons at the serried ranks of retired Brigadiers, Colonels and Admirals I'm reminded of that ditty.

There they sit, the military-minded gentlemen who are still living in the Empire-grabbing 1880's. Decent men, doubtless kind to animals and good to their servants, but filled with wicked and illusory boyhood notions which they've never outgrown.

Their idea of heroism is a cavalry charge. The heroism of a working-class mother struggling to bring up her children healthily in a house with no bath, no hot water and a leaking roof means nothing to them.

They grow livid—you can almost see their blood pressure rising—at any suggestion that 280,000 young men might be spending their time more profitably in providing Britain's needs than in square bashing and spud peeling. They hope the compulsory call-up will inculcate a love for militarism. (It usually has the opposite effect.)

It must have been men of this outlook who caused Percy Bysshe Shelley to write: "War is the statesman's game."

The question of war and peace is far too serious to leave to the generals. During the South African war, according to F. A. Ridley, it was axiomatic amongst the Boers that one must never shoot an English general. The stupidity of the Whitehall brass hats was the best ally the Boers could ever hope to find.

MY COUNTRY

Let's admit there's also been plenty of militarism outside Westminster since the Suez affair blew up. We have had a bellyful of the "My Country Right or Wrong" merchants. Even worse was the "My Government Right or Wrong" line of spurious patriotism. (If it is treachery to oppose your own Government during a war the German anti-Fascists who risked their lives to combat Hitler were all traitors.)

These flag-waggers have never grown up. They are still dreaming of the scenes imaginatively illustrated in a book many of us treasured as children entitled THE WONDER BOOK OF WAR. Nor do they want US to grow up. They want the lower orders to respect the old doctrine:

Their's not to reason why,
Their's but to do and die.

(And into the Valley of Death rode the six hundred at the command of a man whom more recent evidence shows to have been insane!)

Though there was plenty of war poetry before 1914, since 1918 nearly all our poets have been anti-war.

In 1914 even men of the calibre of Thomas Hardy were carried away by war fever. Hardy wrote:

In our hearts believing
Victory crowns the just,
And that braggarts must
Surely bite the dust,
Press we to the field ungrieving
In our heart of hearts believing
Victory crowns the just.

(The German poets, of course, were expressing with equal force the justice of the German cause.)

THE OLD LIE

But the futile horror of the years of trench warfare destroyed all the glamour. The bitter disillusionment was expressed in such poems as those of Wilfred Owen, one of many poets to be killed in the fighting. He called one of his poems: "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori"—it's a glorious thing to die for one's country.

If in some smothering dreams you too could pace
Behind the wagon that we flung him in,
And watch the white eyes writhing in his face,
His hanging face, like a devil's sick of sin,
If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood
Come gargling from the froth corrupted lungs
Bitten as the cud

Of vile incurable sores on innocent tongues—
My friend, you would not tell with such high zest

To children ardent for some desperate glory,
The old lie: Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.

That was written after a gas attack. We've improved on that today—we've got jellied petrol.

Another of the young poets who fought in the trenches and who became sickened by the cruel farce was Siegfried Sassoon. How he hated the brasshat at headquarters of whom he wrote:

And when the war is over and youth stone dead
I'll toddle home and die—in bed.

He expressed his contempt for those

militarists in Civvy Street—and there have been plenty of late—who have been straining at the leash to send other men into battle. This is about a young soldier driven to suicide.

He put a bullet through his brain.
No-one spoke of him again.

You smug-faced crowds with kindling eye
Who cheer when soldier lads march by,
Sneak home and pray you'll never know
The hell where youth and laughter go.

After the '14-18 war, jingoism was out.

POETS FACE NEW ERA

In 1919 a great Roman Catholic poet, Alfred Noyes, described in these terrible words the Victory Ball and London Society flocking to it:

The cymbals clash, the dancers walk
In long silk stockings and arms of chalk.
Butterflies' skirts and white breasts bare
And the faces of dead men grinning there . . .
"Pish!" said the Statesman standing near,
"It's good they can busy their thoughts elsewhere."

They're only young, you must let them be."
"Ah!" said the dead men, "so were we."

Osbert Sitwell wrote lines which are even more apt after Suez than when he wrote them:

The British bourgeoisie
Is not born
And does not die,
But if it is ill,
It has a frightened look in its eyes.

The war was splendid, wasn't it?
Oh, yes, splendid, splendid.

The Port Said war was splendid, wasn't it? Oh, yes, splendid, splendid.

Poets, unlike many of our politicians, have grown up. Even when they regarded it as a regrettable necessity to take up arms—as in 1939—the poets had no illusions. One of them wrote:

No subject we for mighty verse
Who defend the bad against the worse.

That, we should remember, was before the atom bomb. No poet has ever enthused over the dying men, women and children groping through the burning ruins of Nagasaki and Hiroshima with fatal blisters as big as soup plates on their flesh.

And now the hydrogen bomb era, when both America and Russia have the power to blow each other to bits and the British are preparing for their test on Christmas Island to show we've caught up. Humanity can't afford to allow the brasshats and war-minded politicians to play soldiers any longer.

PATRIOTS FOR PEACE

I know that many in the peace movement have been depressed by the jingoism of large numbers of their fellow countrymen who objected to Eden's war of aggression only when the cost began to hit them personally.

Yet I'm confident that the fear of war and the longing to be left alone in peace is far more widespread, particularly among the mothers. There is a great anti-war feeling waiting for a lead. When mankind itself is threatened with extinction there is precedent for believing that in sheer self-preservation the species will throw up an opposition to war.

The gentlemen who like to wrap themselves in the Union Jack are not necessarily the true patriots. We who work for peace love our country too. That is why we want to free it from a Government which has taken it into an unjust war and has dragged the country's name in the mud.

Captain Waterhouse, speaking in the Commons, said: "We are witnessing, possibly, a return to Britain's greatness." There is a way Britain can be great—but not the way Captain Waterhouse means. Not by war but by peace, by being the bridge between the two great blocs in East and West.

Let's have some true patriotism, the patriotism of Tom Paine, who declared: "The world is my country."

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Fund for apartheid opponents

LAST December more than 150 S. African people of all races were suddenly arrested in a melodramatic fashion on charges of treason.

The accused include most of the leading opponents of the Nationalist Government's policy of apartheid, and of South Africa's traditional attitude of racial discrimination.

All of them have taken part in the struggle to achieve racial equality and protect the liberty of the subject.

These courageous people were suddenly torn from their families in the early hours of the morning and taken from all parts of the country to Johannesburg without being given any opportunity of preparing for the welfare of their dependants.

In some cases husbands and wives were both removed, and had to leave their children without care.

The South African Labour Party was one of the organisations which immediately took the initiative in setting up a Defence Fund for the protection of the accused and their dependants.

This fund is being sponsored by well-known public men and women in South Africa, and is being administered from the offices of the South African Labour Party, which have been given free for the purpose. The objects of the fund are:

- to provide bail for the accused;
- to provide the costs of legal defence;
- to provide for the needs of those prisoners and their dependants who are suffering from loss of wages.

When the preliminary hearing was adjourned in December and the prisoners were released on bail, they had to find their own way back home, often very long distances, at their own expense. For many of the African accused this would have been impossible without the assistance of the Defence Fund.

Members of the British Labour Movement have long condemned South African apartheid and racial discrimination in all its forms. Hundreds of resolutions to this effect have been passed by the Movement during recent years.

Now there is a clear opportunity to supplement words with action; to put these resolutions into practical effect. The National Executive Committee of the Labour Party has opened a fund here in support of the South African Defence Fund.

We appeal to all sections of the British Labour Movement to subscribe generously in defence of those who are in the front line of the battle against racial discrimination. Money subscribed, either individually or in collections, should be sent to me at Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1, from where it will be transmitted to the organisers of the South African Defence Fund.

MORGAN PHILLIPS,
Secretary, The Labour Party.
Transport House,
Smith Sq., London, S.W.1.

solar furnaces

CONGRATULATIONS on Ritchie Calder's article—Adventure with a Purpose. There is only one future development that he mentions that I am not happy about: atomic power.

The danger of the materials involved, the elaborate precautions necessary, the disposal of radio-active waste products, all condemn it.

I used to think the promised benefits outweighed the disadvantages, until I learnt that

the "golden coal" projects being developed by France, America, Germany and Russia are proving practical and have equal promise with no similar dangers. Solar furnaces (using concave mirrors) are already working in the Pyrenees, Ivory Coast and elsewhere and there seems no reason why large plants should not be installed in desert regions to feed power all over the world, which, of course, must be peaceful and fully co-operative.

I think Mr. Calder will agree that atomic fission is the source of the sun's heat rays, but a Divine Providence has supplied our earth with a layer of ionic gas which only allows rays beneficial to life to reach us, while stopping nearly all harmful rays.

Must we ignore this and indulge in our own atomic fission which will probably poison us in spite of all our elaborate precautions?

M. H. TALBOT.

6 Purton Rd.,
Horsham, Sussex.

Spiritual healing

IT is obvious from his letter (PN January 4) that my old friend, Adrian Brunel, has never practised spiritual healing, although I have reason to believe that he has seen evidences of its power.

Without an integrated belief in and love of God—i.e. the spirit of perfection, love, truth and life, and a certainty of the immanence of the realm, or rule of this supreme good, such as we find manifested by the central character of the Gospels, true spiritual healing is impossible.

There may be healing by suggestion, a la Coué; by faith (Lourdes, relics, etc.); by hypnotism and personal magnetism and witchcraft, or simply by the power of the human mind or will over matter; but none of these methods are "spiritual" except in the sense that this word is now being used by those perverters of meaning and truth, the materialists.

ESME WYNNE-TYSON.

Clarwyn, East Beach,
Selsey, Sussex.

Books for British Guiana

DURING 1956 we opened a library of progressive literature to carry much of the important literature not available at the one public library in British Guiana. We have built our library by donations from progressives from many parts of the world.

We wish to appeal to your readers to contribute any books they can spare. We can assure them that they will be well read.

BRINDLEY BENN,
Librarian, Guardian Library.

73 Wellington St.,
Georgetown, British Guiana.

Fellowship party

I WAS very interested to read in In Perspective (January 18) the following:

"In commenting thus we must make it clear that we have no more faith in the ultimate efficacy of Labour Party policy in the achievement of a peaceful world than we have in the old fashioned militaristic conceptions of the Conservatives."

"We believe that the policies of both Parties will bring us to disaster and that a much more radical approach is required than either is prepared to make."

The Peace Pledge Union has demonstrated on many occasions that it rejects the political way of making pacifism a real issue in this

country. Its declared objective of securing people to renounce war is regarded as the prime reason for its existence. As pacifists do not like to remain out of touch with politics most members of the PPU vote Labour as the lesser of two evils.

I invite them instead to join and work for the pacifist ideals of the Fellowship Party. We should be much stronger than we are now if pacifists supported us instead of the Labour Party and much nearer making pacifism a real live political issue.

ALBERT LEAPER,
North England Organiser,
The Fellowship Party.

22 Barrington Ave.,
Hull.

Pen pals

I AM eager to get pen-pals of about my age in any country. Letters should be written in English or Bengali.

I am a young man of about 28 years. I am an assistant in the Company whose address is given below.

BISWANATH BANERJEE.

c/o Messrs. Hoare, Miller & Co.,
5 Fairlie Place,
Calcutta, India.

PERFORATIONS



THE recent cases in which sets of unperforated stamps have come into the hands of some purchasers have called attention to the fictitious value which stamps or other articles may gain because of some characteristic which removes them from the ordinary run.

Actually, of course, no stamp is itself worth the amount paid for it. What we pay for is the service to which the stamp entitles us. It is an unreal world in which stamps cease to be used to secure service and become commodities which are bought and sold for an entirely different purpose.

Much the same is true about money, which in the last resort has no value unless it can command the services of our fellow men, and the only real capital is labour!

So every penny which you send to the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund finds its value in the services for which it is exchanged. The staff at Dick Sheppard House, the printers who produce the leaflets, the lumbermen who start the process of paper making, all become involved in the cause of pacifism which is the best service of all.

I didn't expect any unperforated stamps or other rarities, though we could make good use of any that came our way, as indeed we can of ordinary stamps. But talking of perforation, why not tear off the counterfoil of a postal order or a cheque and send the other part duly filled in to the PPU Headquarters Fund as the symbol of your own desire to render service to the cause of peace through the spread of pacifism?

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,150
Amount received to date: £53

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

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SCIENCE GRADUATE seeks constructive, interesting occupation. Information about firms, etc., not on Government contract and preferably under pacifist management, greatly appreciated. Box 721.

NIGERIA

FROM
PAGE TWO

if the country involved had been Holland and not Egypt, Britain would never have dared so to act. They said furthermore that if business interests or the exigencies of power politics appeared so to dictate, Britain would treat Nigeria exactly as she treated Egypt.

It would be a difficult statement to contradict.

Those of us who have lived in Britain through the previous decade see sadly that Britain having lost the military, naval, and economic supremacy in the world which she once possessed, has now forfeited the moral leadership also.

PACIFISM

Pacifism is a new concept here, and there are many people who want Nigeria to grow to conventional and traditional greatness. But there are hopeful signs.

There are a number of European pacifists here; some half a dozen are associated with the University College, and we have met or are aware of others.

Further I was invited by the Students' Union to give a public lecture on "Pacifism as the solution to world problems." There was a good attendance despite a torrential rainstorm, and in general a ready response: African audiences are phenomenally responsive. Question-time was lively. Two answers which I almost took for granted in presenting brought a storm of applause.

"What about the wars in the Old Testament?"

"Jesus said, 'Ye have heard that it hath been said unto them of olden time . . . but I say to you something different.' We belong to the New Testament, not to the Old."

"If our country is to be great, must we not have an army, like the one which Bismarck gave to Germany?"

"Would you rather have the greatness of the Germany of Beethoven, Kant and Goethe, or that of Hitler, Goering and Goebbels?"

It is hard to say how deep the enthusiasm went, but if the future leaders of Nigeria should seek greatness without violence it might change the world.

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MILK BOTTLE TOPS FOR PEACE NEWS

Milk bottle tops (washed before storage) and silver paper and other foils (collected separately from milk tops) can be sold to raise funds for PEACE NEWS.

Collecting depots are needed in every district as it is uneconomic to send bottle tops by post. You are invited to start your own local collecting scheme and arrange for disposal through a local scrap metal buyer. Existing depots are:

DUBLIN: The Irish Pacifist Movement, c/o 6 Eustace St., Dublin.

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NB is your newsagent displaying Peace News?

Ask him to order two extra copies weekly to be placed on show and purchased by you if left over.

DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and Secretary's address)

Friday, February 1

LONDON, W.2: 7.15 p.m.: Younghusband Ho., 23 Norfolk Sq., Terence Chivers, "Power." Forum. New History Society.

Saturday, February 2

DERBY: 3 p.m.: Friends Mts. Ho., St. Helen's St. Harold Loukes, "Friends Face Reality." Society of Friends.

Sunday, February 3

BLACKHEATH: 6.30 p.m.: Winchester Ho. (next to Blackheath Stn.). Ronald Mallone, BA, "Jesus and the World Today: Hungary and the Middle East." Fellowship Party.

Wednesday, February 6

BELFAST: 8 p.m.: Friends Institute, Frederick St. J. J. Campbell, "Reconciliation in Ireland." Fellowship of Reconciliation.

KIDBROOKE: 8.30 p.m.: 141 Woolcombe Rd., S.E.3. Play: "Jane's Legacy." Fellowship Party.

Thursday, February 7

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mts. Ho., Bush Rd. Edith Adlam, "Recent Changes in Uzbekistan." Peace Pledge Union.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Ron Keating, "Pacifism and Socialism." PYAG.

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LONDON: Weekend Workshops, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 19 Pembroke Villas, W.11.

SUNDAYS
HYDE PARK: 4 p.m.: Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

MONDAYS
SHIPLEY: 7.15 p.m.: Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

TUESDAYS
MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.: Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPP.

WEDNESDAYS
KIDBROOKE: 8 p.m.: 141 Woolcombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc.

THURSDAYS
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mts. Ho., Bush Rd. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.: Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. PYAG.

Will defence bill be cut?

happens it will be the time of Brigadier Head, now sacked and on the back-benches, to revolt then.

Our overseas military expenditure in such places as Cyprus, Aden, Kenya and Malaya can only be cut if there is a radical change in Government policy—and Mr. Lennox-Boyd is still at the Colonial Office.

Knowledge of Mr. Lennox-Boyd leads us to believe that he is as tough as Mr. Duncan Sandys.

Our bill in Germany

Then there are our overseas commitments in Germany.

Is Mr. Macmillan's Government really in earnest about withdrawing from them? Is the Paris Treaty going into the melting pot? Are we going to scrap our commitments to UN?

What will all the high-ranking officers with good jobs at the NATO Headquarters in Paris say if Mr. Sandys proposes to take away their jobs? Field-Marshal Montgomery is tough too. He could rally a lot of opinion in the Tory Party if he had a mutiny and made some alarmist speeches.

And what about the Admiralty? In his last year's speech as Minister of Defence, Sir Walter Monckton led us to believe that the Admiralty had plans to spend more money, not less. They are thinking in terms of atomic

submarines and other expensive ships. The Admirals can pull strings, too. They know how to work up Press agitations.

Then there is the Air Force. The new Under-Secretary for Air is Mr. I. Orr-Ewing, who in their recent debates on the Air Estimates was all for a stronger Air Force. He was a director of one of the companies that supplied the Air Force. Is he now going to be an enthusiast for cutting expenditure at the Air Ministry?

The dilemma

All these things make me sceptical about the Government's determination to cut defence ruthlessly.

There will be a few revolts in the Tory Press before Mr. Sandys is allowed to do that.

On the other hand the economic plight of this country demands that armaments expenditure must be cut.

That is the crisis that faces the Government, and in trying to solve this dilemma it might well break up.

Of course, if the Government did go all out for drastic cuts in Defence, and abolished conscription it could regain a good deal of its lost popularity.

But it is not only the Tories who will have to change their policy on Defence.

If Labour wants to win the next General Election it must do so, too.

There is a big swing in opinion inside the Labour Party these days. The time has come for the Labour Party to end its support of the H-bomb, of German rearmament, of NATO and the policies which it supported between 1945-50. It must oppose defence expenditure and conscription with the enthusiasm and determination with which it opposed the Suez War.

NIGERIA ELECTION FOLLOWS BANK INQUIRY

THE House of Assembly of Eastern Nigeria has been dissolved and elections will be held on March 15. This decision has followed a critical report on the Prime Minister of the region by a tribunal appointed by the British Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The tribunal's report dealt with Dr. Azikiwe's connection with the African Continental Bank, originally founded by him in 1937.

The report stated that his conduct had "fallen short of the expectations of honest, reasonable people," and that although he had resigned all offices with the bank, he had continued to be influential in policies and that he intended to resume automatically the offices on ceasing to be a Minister.

The report stated, "We believe that Dr. Azikiwe's primary motive was to make available an indigenous bank with the object of liberalising credit for the people of this country, but we are satisfied that he was attracted by the financial power the bank gave him."

Dr. Azikiwe has denied any fraudulent or improper behaviour and charged that the Colonial Secretary intervened in order to protect the former British banking monopoly and stall the progress "towards political as well as economic freedom . . ."

Imperialists never learn

It is expected that the bank will be nationalised as the State Bank of Eastern Nigeria.

Informed circles in London regard it as certain that Dr. Azikiwe's party, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, will be re-elected as the majority of voters have already expressed disagreement with the report. "However wrong a colonial leader may appear to be," an authority on West African affairs close to Dr. Azikiwe told Peace News last week, "the moment the ruling power denounces him the people rally around the condemned man."

"The imperialists never learn. They know nothing of the psychology of subject peoples. They alone can get rid of unpopular leaders, never the ruling power."

(See other reports on Nigeria and Dr. Azikiwe on page 2 and page 5.)

"SCRAP ARMS" MARCH

★ FROM PAGE ONE

freedom only by being free. It was the task of Christians to liberate themselves from the violence of the past, and to seek to repair its damage in the spirit of Christ.

Another march is to take place on March 24 and a big public rally in Friends House, Euston, on Tuesday, March 26, at which Dr. Martin Niemöller, Leslie Hale, MP, and Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale will speak with Dr. Soper.

The following month will see the publication by Penguin Books of a book on Christian pacifism by Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale.

. . . in the villages, too

TO THE EDITOR

DR. SOPER leads a march through London on January 27. Another one is planned for March 24. British pacifist organisations are uniting to secure public support for British disarmament.

This is very timely and deserves much thought and prayer and energy from all of us who take our pacifism seriously.

I would say that not only pacifists should be in this but all those who have a more constructive policy to put forward in place of the evil one of the present Government.

Petrol rationing apart, it isn't possible for us all to go to London on March 24 but we could turn out into the open air in our own towns and villages, sending telegrams of support to Dr. Soper; thereby showing our unity and at the same time practising that "direct action" which can have most profitable results.

(Mrs.) MARY HARRISON, Redlynch, Wilts.

Pacifist community still threatened in U.S. South

REPEATED shootings and a boycott increased to near economic strangulation have jeopardised Koinonia Farm, Christian pacifist community in the Deep South of the USA in recent weeks. About \$450 damage was done during three attacks. No one was injured.

Sixty people living communally there suffered loss of any regular supply of fuel for heating and cooking as winter weather set in. Their main source of income was also lost.

Located on Route 2, Americus, Georgia, USA, the community is in trouble because of an attempt to get two Negroes admitted to a white school, and for holding an inter-racial children's camp on their farm in the Deep South.

Before the Christmas season, buck-shot was fired by night at the farm's grocery store, causing \$300 damage.

A recently installed refrigerated meat case, worth \$250 was practically ruined. It is thought useless to repair or replace it "until things quiet down," Clarence Jordan, the founder, tells me.

The night after Christmas, the new petrol pump was shot with four high calibre steel jacketed bullets, causing \$100 damage. Before dawn New Year's Day, the "Welcome to Koinonia" sign at the main entrance was riddled with bullets from an automatic rifle.

The \$3,000 bomb damage done to the grocery store, previously reported in Peace News, had been repaired before the recent wave of violence. No insurance covered the damage.

"LIKE PILATE"

Almost totally dependent on butane gas for fuel, Koinonia was told by its dealer that he would sell no more gas to the farm. Lack of flues or chimneys prevents conversion to other fuels.

Emotionally upset, the dealer said he was not discontinuing the sale of gas by choice, but from fear of pressure. "... I feel . . . like Pilate," he said, stating he had not yet lost customers.

A dealer in another county supplied one load

GARY DAVIS SITS IT OUT —AND WINS

GARY DAVIS is back in the United States after being forced on board a Dutch plane in Holland.

When the KLM plane arrived in New York Gary Davis refused to ask for an immigration passport or to land unless his self-made World Citizen's passport was recognised.

For some time a deadlock ensued. Gary Davis was not allowed to land; the plane could not take off for Holland because it could not be refuelled with a passenger on board.

Garry Davis finally left the plane after the head of the Immigration Service told him he would be admitted provisionally on parole.

Davis said this amounted to recognition of his World Citizen's passport.

Barcelona boycott ends after 15 days

THE boycott of trams in Barcelona, Spain, ended early this week after 15 days. Of the 1,500,000 inhabitants, many walked some long distances.

Discontent has been caused by the economic conditions and the rising prices. Two attempted demonstrations were broken up by police and several persons were arrested. Cinemas, theatres and the central markets have lost customers because of the boycott. The university was closed.

MODERN ROBOTS

In modern defence the core of power is the machine, not the man, just as it is in industry. We have to think in terms, less of arming men than of manning weapons.

—Sunday Times, January 27, 1957.

Experts agree that guided weapons must eventually replace manned bomber and fighter aircraft . . . The first to be ready (USA) is an enormous flying bomb which can carry a nuclear warhead for 5,000 miles, flying 80,000 ft. above the earth . . . It can take evasive action when nearing the target and will be difficult to intercept or interfere with.

—The Observer, January 27, 1957.

IN the early nineteen-twenties a Czech writer, Karel Capek, wrote a play about man-made machines that brought complete annihilation to the human race. The name given by the creator to these imaginary machines has become a household word.

Today, people all over the world, write and speak of "robots" as though those machine-men were fact, not fiction.

Karel Capek, when he wrote the play "RUR" (Rossums Universal Robots), intended to show that if man should choose to hand over his human inheritance to the sinister inhumanity of a machine, then disaster to the whole world must be the inevitable consequence.

★

In the original written version of the play, the robots, "made in the image of man" in every respect, except that of the nervous system's emotions, fear and pain and love, eventually destroyed their creators; and because, without the formula for reproduction, which had been burned by the panic-stricken inventor, they could not manufacture more robots, the machines also ceased to be.

A happy ending, evolved for the entertainment of theatre audiences, was not in the

original, and the play is weakened by this pandering to the box-office.

For, without doubt, Karel Capek had a vision of what man in his violent arrogance could do to bring about his own doom. He was, of course, not the only writer who has prophesied the man-created monster who, in the end, could not be controlled by his maker and, therefore, ultimately dominated not only his creator but the whole human race.

It is surprising that journalists and statesmen, men of intelligence, and with expert knowledge, can write and speak of these modern robots with a complacency that seems to indicate a lack of any true perception of the implications of their new military strategy.

It seems as though no imagination is exercised, and that the minds of men have already become the automatic brain-mechanism of the robot.

It appears that in the future men will not fight against each other from ships, or tanks, or aircraft; they will press buttons, and launch into space the most monstrous and appalling death and disease-dealing implements that the devil himself could scarcely have conceived.

They will not see the scorched flesh, the writhing bodies, the diseased organs, the massed crematorium of whole destroyed cities. They will not know whether the dead and dying are tiny newborn babies, or helpless cripples, robust young men or pregnant women. It will not be important, for they will be merely a target 5,000 miles away.

★

No doubt if Mr. Duncan Sandys can do away with man power in most of its aspects he will be highly praised for a great achievement of economy; he will be able to boast to the world that he does not need to supply millions of rifles, hand-grenades, tanks, guns and ammunition to the army, navy and air force; all he needs to do is to find enough men, and that will not be difficult, to man the guided missiles stations, where they will be trained to blow the world to pieces.

A remarkable and wonderful achievement which will, no doubt, be called disarmament. This is, however, no more disarmament than exchanging the cannon ball for the high explosive.

The lesson of the robots is not difficult to understand; the military strategists understand it so well that they are confounded out of their own mouths, for they admit that if these weapons, which they will train men to wield, are ever used, the human race is doomed.

From a rational point of view it is insane; from a moral point of view it is indefensible. It is time that ordinary men and women demanded an end to it and said, unequivocally, NO to war.

Conference on conscription

CONSCRIPTION in Britain is the title of a conference to be held at the Mission Hall, Crestfield Street, London, W.C.1, on Saturday, February 23.

In the chair will be George Craddock, MP. Speakers will include Fenner Brockway, MP, on Conscription in Britain 1916-57 and Bernard Withers on Conscientious Objection in Britain 1945-57 during the first session.

Norman Edwards will take the chair during the second session and Mr. L. J. Cumming will speak on The Way Ahead.

Each talk will be followed by a discussion. The conference will close at 7 p.m. Delegates or individuals wishing to attend should apply to the No Conscription Council, Mission Hall, at the above address (telephone: TERMINUS 3910).

Briefly

At Kompedal alternative service camp for Danish conscientious objectors, unrest has broken out because the authorities have tried to impose military style discipline upon the COs. More than 100 COs have been involved in court cases during the last 14 months.

The illegal National Committee of Labour in Spain, in a pamphlet which is being widely distributed throughout Spain at the moment, has predicted the fall of Franco's regime. The leaflet declares: "We must also avoid new chains and slavery. We must not allow either the Yankees or Moscow or the Vatican or any other foreign force or totalitarian faction to dictate to us. The road must be opened to the free determination of a free people."

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Registered as a newspaper. Entered as second-class matter at post office, Boston, USA. Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by Peace News Ltd. Printed by Fish & Cook Ltd, (T.U.), 135 Poultry Rd., London, N.4.